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A TREATISE
OF
SUBIECTION
TO THE
POVVERS.

Preached almost a yeer since, and now
copied out for the Presse; yet not to
flatter any, but to inform all.

To the Powers I say as *Jehosaphat* did,
2 CHRON. 19. 6.

Take heed what yee doe, for ye judge not for men, but for the Lord who
is alſo with you in the Judgment.

To others I say in the words of the *Apostle*,
1 PET. 2. 13.

Submit your selves to every Ordinance of man for the Lords sake, whe-
ther it be to King, as to Supreams, or to Governours, as unto them
that are sent of him for the punishment of them that doe evill, and
for the praise of them that doe well.

• Homo sum, non possum non errare :

Hæreticus esse nolo, quia sum Christianus.

By *THO. CARRE.*

London, Printed for *Andrew Kembe*, and are to be sold at
his shop on *Margarets Hill* in *Southwark*, 1651.

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To the Honor^{le} Committee
for Plundered Ministers: Happiness
both here, and for ever.

HONORABLE GENTLEMEN,



EE are in place of high Trust under
the Supream power of this Com-
mon-wealth: whom God hath y,

1. Advanced to highest dignit
2. And made prosperous even to
wonder and admiration.

Never was this Common-wealth
more populous. Never were

1. Armies more potent,
2. Souldiers more resolute,
3. Successes more (if I may use the word) Fortunate.

The Heavens have been Auspicious: The Celestiall In-
fluences Propitious: And God himself obvious to the
eyes of all that can see, In Miracles, in Mercies, in Victo-
ries. Eternall fame attendeth the Assertors of our Liber-
ties here, Immortall glory in Heaven.

The Epistle Dedicatory.

But my Intentions aime in particular at you, Noble Trustees; For yee are the Fathers of the Clergy, to protect or to punish, to Settle or Sequester according to merit and desert. And I, having from the first hitherto endeavoured to advance the Justice of the Cause, so far as my weak abilities could attain. To which end I both preached it up in the Countrey, and penned an Apology, which had the allowance of an *Imprimatur* by M. *John White*, 1643. But it miscarrying, how I know not, I made it as common as I could with my pen, witnesse two Copies wherewith I presented the Honorable Committee at *Bury*: besides others which I gave to some Commanders, and other friends in the countrey. And now the last *September* I preached the substance of this wherewith I now present your Honors, in my Cure at *Mickfield* in *Suff*. But how it took I may in part judg. I therefore now flie to you as to my City of Refuge, humbly craving safeguard under the wings of your Benignity, hoping of better acceptance from the Presse, then from the Pulpit at that time.

This subject I know well is not pleasing unto all: it hath I know not whether more enemies or friends. Men love Liberty, Restraint is tedious to the most. Every one would rule, few are willing to be ruled, unlesse it be under such a person, or in such a way as they do best affect. But I look

1. Upon Government in generall, as upon a speciall gift of God.

2. Upon the present Government as upon a Notable and Singular Dispensation of over-ruling Providence.

Jos. 24. 14.

And as *Ioshua* said to the people, Choose you whom yee

The Epistle Dedicatory.

ye will serve, as for mee and my house we will serve the Lord. So say I, Let others doe what they please; I, for my part will honor the present power with all realty and faithfulness: and I will submit thereto; both for his sake that hath set it up: and for conscience of my duty.

The nature of this Discourse considered, I durst not adventure it abroad but under favour, and Protection of Authority. And I hope your Honors will

1. Both allow the matter,
2. And Protect the Author, who layeth himself low at your feet: humbly craving acceptance, and, if worthy, countenance against all Anti-Parliamentarian Criticks, Carpers and Deriders.

And so resteth he that is, and will be

From my Study,
July, 31, 1650.

A Servant of Servants to the

Power: and a faithfull Observant

of your high authority under that

power of this Common-wealth.

Tho. Carre.

T O



To all my Loving Country-
men the free Commoners of the
Common-wealth of England,
Grace, and Peace.

Men, Brethren and Fathers,



My Respects answerable to your severall
Places premised; Know ye that I doe
herein indeavour to hold forth

1. The much Questioned,

2. But unquestionable Truth of
Subjection to the Powers. For men
are miserably distracted at this time
by reason of the overtures in Go-

vernment. They halt between the two opinions of Monar-
chy and Commonalty. And as it was in times past, the
people were divided into two parts: the one half followed
Tibni the son of Ginah to make him King, the other halfe
followed Omri, and which prevailed yee may there see. So
now a great part is for one kind of Government, and a great
for another. I, for my part look upon the present Power,
and

To the Reader.

and I verily think I ought so to doe; for Providence is pre-
dominant in this, as well as in all other occurrences. For
Promotion cometh neither from the East nor from the
West, nor from the South (it is neither by Casualties, nor
from Constellations) but it is God that putteth down one, Psal. 75. 7.
and setteth up another: And Daniel telleth King Nebu-
chadnezzar, That the most High ruleth in the Kingdome Dan. 4. 17.
of men, and giveth it to whomsoever hee will: and setteth
over it the basest of the People. And what God setteth up,
who can pull it down?

Beloved Countrey men, I would the world should know,

1. That as I would bee loth to shew my self a Claw-back
Time server.

2. So I would not willingly bee thought to bee a rigid
Time-opposer.

But a most humble waiter upon God in the dispensations
of his most wise and just providence. And this I do solemnly
professe, that I would sooner have

1. My Brains beaten out with Bats,
2. My Tongue plucked out by the Roots,
3. My hand chopt off with a Sword,

Then I would

1. Strain my Wit to invent,
2. Give my Tongue liberty to speak,
3. Or publish ought with my Pen,

Whereby a lawfull right or interest might suffer the least
prejudice.

I meddle not therefore with the much spoken of Right,
whether by Succession (as men are pleased to call it) or other-
wise. I leave that to Statists. I meddle only with the Vi-
sibility of the Power. And

1. Where, or in whose hands it is, we all see.

2. From

To the Reader.

2. From whom it is, we cannot but know.

3. What is our duty I do endeavour to shew. Leaving the rest to your considerations.

Rom. 9. 1.

Brethren, I will not use many words, for a word is enough to the wise, and they that are otherwise will hear no reason. Yet let me speak freely to you in the words of the Apostle, I speak the truth in Christ Iesus, I lie not; my conscience also bearing me witnesse in the Holy Ghost. I have written nothing in all this Discourse of Subjection, but what is (if I be not grossely mistaken) according to the truth of Gods Word. Si quid rectius nosti, Candidus imperti: si non, his utere mecum.

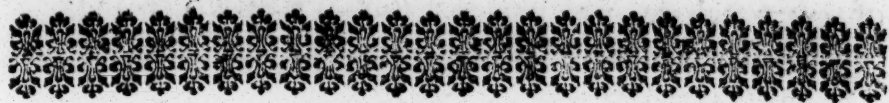
Gal. 4. 15.

But if any shall cavill and contest, I say again with the same Apostle, Am I therefore become your enemy because I tell you the truth? And so between hope and fear reflect he that is, and will be

From my Study, this
1 of Aug. 1650.

Your Servant in and for
Christ, and for the Publike
peace,

Tho. Carre.



A TREATISE
OF
SUBIECTION
TO THE
POVVERS.

ROM. 13. 1, 2.

Let every Soul be subject to the Higher Powers : for there is no Power but of God, the Powers that be are ordained of God.

Whosoever therefore resisteth the Power resisteth the Ordinance of God: and they that resist shall receive to themselves Damnation.



His whole Epistle consists of two parts.

1. The former part containeth matter of Doctrin, viz. of Predestination, Justification, Calling, Sanctification, and Salvation. These are discoursed in the eleven first Chapters.

2. The other containeth exhortation : by way of use and application : in the Chapters following, to the end of the Epistle.

And this was *Pauls* method in all his other Epistles ;
B for

Subjection.

for every where hee harpeth on these two strings.

1. Doctrins of holy faith.

2. And exhortations to a godly life.

And that which was *Pauls* method in all his writings is the fittest method for a Minister in his preaching; namely, to join Doctrine and Exhortations as inseparable companions. That so,

1. By sound Doctrin the judgment may be settled in the truths of God.

2. And by powerfull application the conscience may be pressed, the manners reformed, and the conversation ordered in the ways of godlinesse.

And that Sermon which wants one of these may be said truly to be maimed and defective.

It was the commendation which *Lactantius* gives of *Cyprian*, that he was plain in his Doctrin, powerfull in his Exhortation. And it is required of a Minister, not only to feed, but to doe it wisely, and faithfully; considering, Time, Place, and the state, and condition of the people. Hereupon *Paul* speaketh of milk for babes, and stronger meat for grounded christians (a); as if he should say, principles for the one, deeper points for the other. Yet in both, he must respect

(a) 1 Cor. 3. 2.
Heb. 5. 12.

1. Both Science } that he may divide the word of truth

(b) 2 Tim. 2. 15.

2. And Conscience } aright (b).

And as he hath a Mission, so he must look into his Commission, and that with diligence, and conscience. That he may take the mind of God aright, and deliver the same faithfully to the people. Hereupon it is that *Paul* giveth *Timothy* in

(c) 1 Tim. 1. 19. charge, To hold faith, and a good conscience (c), and to at-

(d) 1 Tim. 4. 13. tend to Reading, to Exhortation, and to Doctrin (d), and he

(e) Tit. 2. 15. warneth *Titus* to exhort, rebuke, with all authority (e). And

this teacheth those that are hearers, that they must be content, nay they must be desirous to hear both. And not to be

(f) Acts 17. 21. 1. All for Doctrin; as the *Athenians* were for news (f).

2. Nor all for use, and application; as the injudicious vulgar are, who would have particular sins inveighed against, and damnation preached from every text.

I confesse it is fit that sin should have a blow upon all occasions : and that damnation should be preached; yet with respect unto the Text: for he may justly be charged with rashnesse that wrongeth his friend to harm his enemy. So he that inveigheth against sin more then is occasioned from his text.

Application must be grounded upon Doctrine; even as a house cannot hang in the air; it must be setled on a sure foundation : even so that application which wanteth Doctrine to support it, is not much better then an impertinent discourse. This for the generall of the whole Epistle.

Now the Apostle having spent the eleven first chapters in Doctrine, as I said before. Now he proceedeth in the rest of the chapters to presse his Doctrins home, by severall Exhortations. For,

1. In the twelfth chapter hee laies down three severall Exhortations; as first, To the sincere service of God, in the two first verses. Then to a sober use of spiritual gifts unto the 9th. verse. Lastly, to certain offices of charity, to the end of that chapter.

2. In the thirteenth chapter hee speaketh principally of those duties which concern us toward civill Magistrates. And withall, he commendeth love unto Christians, and dehortheth them from some grosse sins unbeseeming their profession.

3. In the fourteenth chapter, he sheweth the use of indifferent things, about which there was a very hot contention between the beleiving Gentiles and the converted Jews; and sheweth how the strong should bear with the weak; and both the strong and weak should behave themselves one to another.

4. In the fifteenth chapter, he finisheth his former Exhortations to the strong, how they are to bear with the weak : and to that purpose he presseth the example of Christ.

5. In the sixteenth chapter he concludeth his Epistle with familiar salutations.

Q. Only the Question may be made, Why the Apostle did so earnestly presse subjection to Civill Magistrates?

R. I answer, that it was to acquit the Christians of that imputation that was cast upon them, and upon their profession:

Subjection.

and for which they were persecuted by the Heathens. They were defamed to bee enemies to the policy of Commonwealths, and to Civill Magistracy. But *Paul* acquitteth them and their Religion from that imputation, by pressing Subjection upon Christians.

Obj. But it will be said that the Magistrates then were Infidells. For the *Roman* Emperors, and their subordinate officers did Lord it over the Christians at that time.

R. True: yet subjection was due to them, because they were in place of Civill superiority. Though they were lawlesse persons in themselves, yet were they lawfull Magistrates in their times. They were under God; they were his Vice-gerents, though themselves were wicked. And for this cause it is, that the Apostles did presse subjection upon the Christians at that time when they were under the Civill power of Heathen Magistrates.

1. *Paul*, not only in this text, but in other places doth press it. For writing to *Timothy*, hee saith, I exhort that first of all Supplications, Prayers, and Intercessions, and giving of thanks be made for all men; for Kings, & all that are in authority: that we may lead a quiet and a peaceable life in all godliness & honesty; (g) and he biddeth *Titus* to put them in mind to be subject to principalities and powers, and to obey Magistrates (h).

(g) 1 Tim. 2.
3, 2.
(h) Tit. 3. 1.

2. Again, *Peter* saith, Submit your selves to every Ordinance of man for the Lords sake, whether it be to King as to Supream, or to Governors: as to them that are sent by him for the punishment of evill doers, and for the praise of them that do well (i).

(i) 1 Pet. 2. 13,
14.

3. And *Jude* faults them that despise Government, and speak evill of them that are in authority (k), to whom also the Apostle *Peter* doth agree (l). And because there is so much grumbling, and heart-burning at this time, by reason of the overtures in Civill government, I shall take occasion to speak of that subjection which is due to those that are now in place of eminency; and the Visible power at present, both to promote vertue, and to punish vice.

(k) Jude 8.
(l) 2 Pet. 2. 10.

We were not long since, and for a long time before under
Mo-

Monarchicall Government: under the Power of famous Princes. But now we are altered into another form. This the Lords doing. He foundeth, and confoundeth Kingdomes. By him Kings reign (*m*), and by him they come to ruine. If ye do wickedly, ye shall perish both ye and your King (*n*). The Lord it is that putteth down one, and setteth up another (*o*). And it is said in *Daniel*, that the most High ruleth in the Kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, and setteth over it the basest of men (*p*). And what is of Gods doing, man may admire, it is in vain for him to resist. For as *Gamaliel* said to the Councell concerning the Apostles, so say I in behalf of the Power, Refrain from these men, and let them alone, for if this councell or work be of men, it will come to nought: but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it, lest happily ye be found to fight even against God (*q*). Come and see (saith the Psalmist) the works of the Lord: hee is terrible in his doings toward the children of men (*r*). Hee doth cut off the spirit of Princes: hee is terrible to the Kings of the earth (*s*).

(*m*) Prov. 8. 15.

(*n*) 1 Sam. 12.

(*o*) Psal. 75. 7.

(*p*) Dan. 4. 17.

(*q*) Acts 5. 38.

(*r*) Psal. 66. 5.

(*s*) Psal. 76. 12.

Come, I say, see, and admire. Few men look higher then on secondary causes. They complain of this thing or that: of this man or that: if it were not for this or that, things would have been otherwise. But a wise man looketh up to God as the authour of all alterations. The chief men of *Israel* rejected Christ to reign over them: of whom *Peter* saith, to whom coming as to a living stone, disallowed indeed of men, but chosen of God, and precious (*t*). And *David* spake of him Prophetically, The stone which the Builders rejected is become the head stone of the corner. This is the Lords doing (saith he) and it is marvellous in our eyes (*u*), which text of *David* is alledged by Christ (*w*), and by *Peter* (*x*), and hence I conclude, That the Lord hath an hand in all Alterations, Civill and Ecclesiasticall: Politicall and Oeconomicall: Personall and Publike. And if a sparrow lighteth not upon the ground, but God hath a finger, a Providentiall finger in it (*y*); Then in all alterations, and altercations Providence must be prevalent.

(*t*) 1 Pet. 2. 4.

(*u*) Psal. 118.

(*w*) Mat. 21. 42.

(*x*) Acts 4. 11.

1 Pet. 2. 7.

(*y*) Mar. 10. 29

1. The Lord gave the *Israelites* a King at their foolish im-
 (z) 1 Sam. 8. 5. portunity (z), in which regard the Lord saith he gave them a
 (a) Hos. 13. 11. King in his anger (a).

2. And the Lord taketh away a King in his displeasure.
Josiah was a good King. He did that which was right in the
 eyes of the Lord, and walked in the ways of *David* his father,
 (b) 2 Kin. 22. 2. and turned not aside to the right hand, nor to the left (b); like
 him there was no King before him that turned to the Lord
 with all his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his
 might, according to the Law of *Moses*: neither after him arose
 (c) 2 King. 23. there any like him. (c) Yet he was taken away in the flower of
 25. his age, in Gods anger to *Judah* (d), And *Jeremiah* and all *Ju-*
 (d) 2 King. 23. dah lamented the loss of him (e).

26. We had a King, but our sins have taken him away, and the
 (e) 2 Chr. 35. 25. Government from his. The State is now the visible power:
 they have taken the Government upon them. They make
 Laws, they order the Coinage, they do all things, and we must
 be subject. God hath set them up: and there is no struggling a-
 gainst the dispensations of his over-ruling Providence: lest,
 like a fish in the net, or a beast in the mire, we bring our selves
 into a worse condition. For my text saith, *There is no power but*
of God. Therefore,

1. How ever the Power had advanced it self;

2. Or however it shall manage matters;

Yet wee must be subject, either doing things that shall bee
 commanded, if lawfull: or submitting to censure, or to pu-
 nishment, yea though the cause deserve it not.

Q. But will some man say, Is the State incontrollable?
 may there be no resistance in case of Tyranny, or oppression?
 It is a rule, that from whom Kings have their Precedency, by
 the same they may be resisted, and as case may require deposed:
 but this must be by the whole State, not by any private or par-
 ticular power. So the Parliament being the Kingdomes Tru-
 stees for the Kingdomes good; may not the Kingdome rise
 against them, if they falsifie the trust reposed in them?

A. The case seemeth to be alike. But it is a captious questi-
 on, therefore I shall not determine it. Yet this I say, there is
 some

some difference: for the Parliament are the Kingdome Representative; and what they doe the Kingdome doth it. And can the Kingdome have two Representatives at once? or by what authority shall they make a new Election while the former are in being? This passeth my understanding. But to proceed.

1. Kings are not simply necessary unto Government: though a King may be an ornament, a beauty, a benefit, and a blessing: The *Israelites* had no King for a long time; yet were well governed.

2. There may be Governours that may exercise Kingly authority, and not have the title: which made *Peter* require subjection unto Governors as well as to Kings (f).

(f) 1 Pet. 2.13,

We had a King, but now we have none in *Esse*, nay not so much as in *Posse*, so far as we can see with the eye of worldly possibility. I say nothing of the Right, I leave that to Statists, who are versed in the fundamentall laws of this Nation. But to the visible face of things as they now stand, God hath transferred the Government: and we must wait upon God, making no disturbance. Let him alone with his work; and let us mind our own, which is Subjection.

These things I have spoken by way of preface, not for any evil will that I have to Kingly Government: but to presse subjection to the Powers. My intents are known to God only, to whom I must be accomptable.

Q. But what say you to the posterity of the late King, as relating to the title of Succession?

R. I answer, It is transcendent, far above my capacity. I, for my part, meddle only with the visibility of the Power. And where it is we all see. For,

1. Whose is the Coin;
2. Who make laws;
3. Who exact and receive Custome, Tributes, Taxes, we all know.

These are appendent to the Power. Therefore though I shall

1. Honour that Posterity in my heart.
2. Wish well to it in my thoughts.

3. Speak

3. Speak honorably of it with my tongue.

4. And indeavour to advance the dignity of it with my pen upon all necessary and just occasions;

Yet I shall leave it for the present to the wisdom and justice of the Superiour power now in being. And shall acquiesce in the judgment and determination of the Highest Court, which is, and ought to be Judge, next under God, and his Word, of all Queries of this nature. And now to my text, which hath these two parts.

1. First, is a duty which is enjoined by Apostolicall authority.

2. Secondly, the reasons wherewith the same duty is urged, and enforced.

1. First, the duty; which hath three particulars.

1. First, the persons whom this duty doth concern, with the generality. *Soul. Every Soul.* None excepted; none exempted from it.

2. Secondly, the duty it self, what it is; with the strict command of it. *Be Subject. Let be subject.*

3. Thirdly, to whom this duty is to be performed. *To Powers. To the High Powers.*

2. Again, the Reasons wherewith the duty is enforced; which are these two:

1. The advancement of the Power whence it is? *The Powers that be ordained of God.*

2. The danger of resisting the Power, which reflecteth,

1. First, upon God, whose Ordinance is thereby resisted.

2. Secondly, upon him that maketh, and manageth the resistance, who thereby incurreth no lesse then damnation.

Of these severally, and in order.

1. First, of the duty, with the severall particulars that are in it: Which I said were three.

1. First, the persons whom this duty doth concern: with the generality. *Soul. Every Soul.*

1. First, *Soul.* And *Soul* signifieth Person in this text.

The word *Soul* (I confesse) signifieth diversly in the Scriptures.

Some-

Sometimes it signifieth the spirituall part of man distinguished from the body. As in that saying of Christ, Fear not them which can kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul, &c. (g).

(g) Mat. 10. 28.

Sometimes Soul is put for life, which is resident in the soul. Thus saith David, my soul is among Lions (h). And in many other places of Scripture: specially in the Psalms (i).

(h) Psal. 57. 4.

(i) Psal. 7. 2.

17. 13.

59. 3.

63. 9.

But it is often taken for the whole man: the person consisting both of body, and soul. The soul that sinneth shall die the death (k). All the Souls which came with Jacob into Egypt, &c. (l); which Moses in another place thus reporteth, Thy fathers went down with threescore and ten persons (m). So in this text, Soul signifieth the person,

(k) Ezek. 18. 4.

(l) Gen. 46. 26.

(m) Deut. 10. 22.

2. Secondly, the generality, Every Soul. That is, Every one, man and woman. There are none excepted, not one exempted. I say, Every man and woman.

1. Wheresoever they live;

2. Of what sort, state, condition soever they be. Whether Civill or Ecclesiasticall. They must be subject.

The Papists are hereby condemned; for they

1. To advance the Lordship Paramount of the Pope,

2. Do discharge the Clergy of all sorts from their Subjection to Civill Magistrates. But,

1. In the Old Testament the Priests and Levites were subject to the Kings, they were commanded by them (n).

(n) 2 Chr. 17. 7.

29. 5.

35. 6

2. And in the New Testament, we read, That Christ payed tribute (o); And that Paul appealed to Cesar (p). And Paul commandeth Subjection in my text. And Peter required Submission (q). Therefore Every Soul, one and other, must be in

(o) Mat. 17. 27.

(p) Acts 25. 11.

(q) 1 Pet. 2. 13.

subjection to Civill authority.

The case is plain for the Person. Yet before I passe this, in that the person is comprehended under the term Soul, which is the more noble part of the person. By the way, it hin teth unto us, That every one must have a speciall regard of his Soul.

1. The body is not to be neglected.

2. But the Soul, the good of the Soul is specially to be regarded: and that for speciall reasons.

C

1. First,

1. First, Because it is the better, the more noble part of the person.

2. Again, because therein properly is the image of God.

2. Thirdly, because that is first converted.

4. Lastly, because that shall first be glorified.

That hath the first in priviledge: therefore let it have the first of our care.

1. Men are carefull of their body, to feed, cloath, and nourish that.

2. But who almost regardeth his precious soul?

1. The Word is the food of our souls.

2. Christs righteousness is the true clothing.

3. And Christian graces are as Jewells to adorn the soul.

1. In Justification, Christs righteousness is put upon us. In

(r) Col. 2. 10. whom we are compleat (r). To this end are those expressions

(s) Rom. 13. 12. of putting on Christ (s.)

(i) Gal. 3. 27. 2. In Sanctification, we are clothed with the righteousness of the Spirit. To this end are those expressions, Of putting on

(t) Eph. 4. 26. the new man (t), Of putting on the whole armour of God

(u) Eph. 6. 11. (u), Of being clothed with humility (w), of putting on

(w) 1 Pet. 5. 5. bowells of mercy (x).

(x) Col. 3. 12. 3. And in Glorification, when this mortall shall have put

(y) 1 Co. 15. 53 on immortality (y), then shall we bee clothed upon with our

(z) 2 Cor. 5. 2. house from heaven (z). But who regardeth these things? who

laboureth for these? Men are taken up with thoughts and de-

sires of earthly contents, to be clothed with wealth, honour,

and such like transitory contents. Of which Christ saith,

What will it profit a man, if hee gain the whole world, and

(a) Mat. 16. 26. lose his soul? (a)? The losse will not countervail the gaine.

Above all things then mind this. First seek the Kingdome of

(b) Mat. 6. 33. God, and the righteousness thereof (b.) First, that is, in the

first place, and with our first and best strength. But this is but

occasionally, and by the way. And so from the person, with

the generality of the person, I come

2. Secondly, to the duty, with the strict command of it. Be

subject. Let be subject.

1. First,

1. First, be *Subjeſt*. The word ſignifieth to be ſubordinate: and it implyeth the order that is upheld by Government: which whoſo diſturbeth, he endeavourerh to bring in confuſion. And it is well obſerved, that the Apoſtle doth not ſay Be obedient, but be *Subjeſt*. which is a generall word, and is incluſive of all Dues, and Duties.

1. For as there are duties on the Governours part, which are theſe three.

1. To make Laws.

2. To maintain Laws,

3. And to urge the execution of Laws.

That ſo, the good may be protected, and the refractory reſtrained, and the evil puniſhed. And above all to have a ſpeciall care of Religion.

1. To advance the true;

2. And to ſuppreſſe all forms of falſe worſhip. In which regard Princes are and ought to be Nurling fathers (c).

(c) Eſa. 49.23.

2. So on the other ſide Subjection implyeth three things.

1. The firſt is Honour. Their perſons are to be honoured.

Saul required it of *Samuel*. Honour me (ſaith he) now before

the people (d); *Nathan* bowed himſelf before *David* (e). Honor

(d) 1 Sam. 15.

thy Father and thy Mother, ſaith God (f). Under which

(e) 1 King. 1.

terms of Father and Mother all ſorts of Superiours are com-

23.

prehended. As Fathers of Countries, of families, and fathers in

(f) Exo. 20.12.

Chriſt. The Apoſtle ſaith, Honour all men (g), Superiours, E-

(g) 1 Pet. 2. 17.

qualls, and Inferiours are to be honoured: but every one as his

place requireth. Superiours muſt be revered: Inferiours ſup-

ported: Equalls regarded.

2. The ſecond is Obedience. Obedience I ſay to their Laws and Commands. Either to doe them, if lawfull and poſſible: Or to ſubmit to puniſhment for not doing them, if impoſſible, or unlawfull. For what is commanded by full authority of the Power, obedience is to be ſhewed, either active obedience to do the ſame, or paſſive, making no reſiſtance. And yet in this paſſive obedience there muſt be retained

1. Both fidelity to the Power: no acting, no complotting. For this we have *Dauids* Example, He would not avenge him-

(b) 1 Sam. 26. self upon *Saul* when he had him at advantage (-b). And *Jeremiah* perswaded the Jewes to seek the peace of the King and
3. &c.

(i) Jer. 29. 7. Kingdome, where they were held in captivity (i).

2. And Piety, to pray for oppressing and tyrannicall Rulers. As *Daniel* did, who prayed for the life of *Darius* (k).

(k) Dan. 6. 21.

Q. But here it will be said, If Active or Passive obedience is to be yeelded to all the commands of Superiors: how came it to passe that against the late King, and against his commands there was made open resistance.

R. I answer, you must remember what I said even now, when I spake of the commands of the full authority of the Power. For though the late King was a Monarch; yet his Kingdome was not an absolute, but a mixed Monarchy, which is of all Monarchies the best. For an absolute Monarchy doth easily degenerate into a Tyranny: but so cannot a mixed Monarchy, because the People in their Trustees have some reall and appendent power.

And that this was a mixed Monarchy it appeareth in this: that though the late King, and his Predecessors were to keep and defend the Laws: yet they were not the sole Makers of the Laws. They could neither make new Laws, nor repeal the old of themselves, that is, by their absolute and sole authority. The People, by their Representatives in Parliament had a power with the Kings. They to contrive and frame such Laws as were for the benefit of the Subject, the Kings to ratifie and confirm those Laws for the good of his people. To the King and Parliament this belonged, as is evident in all former Parliaments, by the disanulling of Patents, and the punishing Monopolists, which have been burthensome and prejudiciall to the Common-wealth. And if all power in these things had been in the King, then had he been absolute of himself: and by consequent there ought to have been no resistance: but passive obedience (or a submission to punishment) where active obedience could not with a safe conscience be yeelded.

For this we have the case of the three Children: *Nebuchad-dezzar's* command was unlawfull, yet they made no resistance; but submitted themselves to the censure, and sentence of the
King

King (l). Now *Nebuchadnezzar* was an absolute Monarch: he (l). *Dan. 3. 16.* had indeed Counsellours, but none to correct, or contradict his extravagances. But so it was not with the late Kings of *England*: for Patents and Monopolies have been disannulled; and Patentees, Monopolists, and Projectors have been censured by former and later Parliaments. And therefore the full authority of the Power was not in the King alone, but in King and Parliament conjunctim.

But it will be said that the King was above Law: for hee *Object.* could pardon trespasses against Law.

I answer, that all that can be said is, that the Kings of *England* had a dispensing power, by vertue of Prerogative. *Reply.*

1. Yet not simply of the Law it self.

2. But in regard of the execution of the right of the Law.

They could extend Royall favour if they pleased: yet the vertue of the Law was no whit abated thereby. Put the case, Two persons under the same doome of Law, for one and the same offence: the one suffereth for the same, the other hath his pardon. There is power enough in the Law for execution, with which the King (for some causes) doth dispense. And properly to be above Law, is to have absolute, and independent power

1. To make Lawes.

2. To alter Lawes.

3. And to take them away at pleasure: which was not in the sole power of any of the Kings of *England*. If otherwise, Parliaments were Nul, and needlesse, of no use, of no necessity, of no benefit.

3. The third duty implied in Subjection is Maintenance: by Tribute, Poll money, (m) and by other lawfull taxes, and (n) *Matth. 17.* Impositions. Give to every one his due, Tribute to whom ^{24.} Tribute, &c. (n) *Christ* paid tribute (o); And exhorted to give (n) *Rom. 13. 7.* unto *Cesar* the things that are *Cesars* (p). And maintenance is (o) *Mat. 17. 20.* due to the Magistrate by a fourfold right. (p) *Mat. 22. 17.*

1. First, as a sign, and testimony of subjection.

2. Secondly, as a reward for his pains.

3. Thirdly, for the honour of his Person and Court.
 4. Fourthly, for the safety of State or Common wealth.
- And so much for the duty, *be subject*.

2. Now secondly, the strict injunction of the duty; the Emphasis is in the word *Let*. *Let be subject*: which enjoyneth the strict performance of the thing.

Let all things be done decently, and in order, faith

(q) 1 Cor. 14. Paul (q).

40.

(r) 1 Tim. 5. Let the Elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour (r).

(s) 1 Cor. 14.

34.

Let your women keep silence in the Churches (l).

Let every one of you in particular so love his wife even as himself (t). So here, *Let every Soul be subject*. That is, Let every one submit, or yeeld himself to authority. And this implieth a threefold necessity.

(t) Ephe. 5. 33

1. The first is Duty, to which we are obliged.

2. The second is Benefit, that will redound to us, by doing our duty.

3. The third is Danger which will follow upon denying to doe our duty.

3. Now thirdly, to whom subjection must be yeelded? To the Powers. *To the Higher Powers*.

1. All Powers, even the inferior and subordinate must be submitted to.

2. Much more the Superior Powers, to which the other are in subordination.

And it is to be understood of the Civill, the secular Powers in this text: because the Apostle speaketh in this chapter of Tribute, and custome which is due to such onely.

And be the Powers what they will, good, or bad: by what right or wrong they obtain the place of Superiority: how ever they demean themselves in the use, or abuse of their Power, rule they rightly, or rigidly: yet being in the place of Civill Superiority, subjection must be yeelded to them. The Apostles biddeth servants to be obedient to their Masters with fear, and trembling: with good will doing service, as to the Lord, and not unto men (v). And Peter faith, Servants be sub-

(v) Ephe. 6. 5.
Colos. 3. 22.

ject

ject to your Masters, not only to the good & gentle, but also to the froward(w). And the Roman Emperours by force and night, rather then by right, Lorded it at the time when Paul pressed subjection to the Powers. Wheresoever then, or in whomsoever the visible Power is at present, to it we must be subject. And we see where the visible Power now is, God hath transferred the Government, as I said before: for without him nothing can come to pass. It is Gods disposing for his own ends: in mercy, or in judgement: how ever we must be subject.

(w) 1 Pet. 2. 13.

Onely here a question may be made; that is, how far evill, and Tyrannicall Powers have their power from God? Whether by sufferance and permission onely?

Quest.

I answer, that though this doth not concern the present State. For we do not look upon the Power now in the hands of the Parliament, as usurped, and Tyrannicall. For they have

Reply.

1. Proceeded against the late King.
2. Deposed his Posterity.
3. Taken the Government to themselves, to the use and benefit of those that have betruſted them.

And all this is by the fundamentall Laws of the Kingdom, as they have solemnly declared. I must beleve it: for I cannot contradiſt: yet, that evill Magistrates have their power, not onely from permission, but by Divine Disposition appeareth,

1. Not onely from this text, the Powers that be are ordained by God. And yet those Powers were usurped and Tyrannicall.
2. But from other texts of Scriptures. As it is said in Job, When he hideth his face, who can behold him, whether it bee done against a Nation, or against a man (x)? David saith, It is God that putteth down one, and setteth up another (y). And it is said in Daniel, that the most High ruleth in the Kingdome of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, and setteth over it the basest of men, (z). And if he set up, it is not in man to pull down. The Lord by the Prophet saith, I gave them a King in mine anger (a). It is likewise said that the Lord raised up, or advanced the Assyrians (b), and the Babylonians.

(x) Job 34. 30.

(y) Psal. 75. 7.

(z) Dan. 4. 17.

(a) Hos. 13. 11.

- bylonians* (c). Therefore evill Governours are not set up without Gods Ordinance, and disposition, for the punishment of some. And in that *Daniel* prayed for *Nebuchadnezzar*, wishing that the calamities signified in his dreams, might betide to his enemies, and that he himself might escape them, (d). It sheweth that people are to pray for the welfare, and prosperity of their wicked Governours. For a bad Government is better then none at all. And a Tyranny is better then an Anarchy. *Jeremy* bid the *Jewes* seek the peace of the City, whither the Lord had caused them to be carried away captives, and to pray unto the Lord for it: for in the peace thereof they should have peace (e). *Paul* exhorts that prayers, and supplications be made for all men, for Kings (and those that exercise Kingly authority) when they were Tyrants, and persecutors of Gods people, (f): the like doth *Peter*. Submit your selves (saith he) to every Ordinance of man for the Lords sake (g).
- (d) Dan. 4. 19.
(e) Jer. 29. 7.
(f) 1 Tim. 2. 1.
(g) 1 Pe. 2. 13, 14.

And now to reflect upon the present Government in the hands of the Parliament, and those that are in subordination to them: What is the Parliament, but the Commons representative?

1. Legally summoned,
2. Legally chosen,
3. Legally admitted,
4. Legally constituted,
5. Legally continued,
6. Legally proceeding in whatsoever they have done.
7. And still they propound the Legality of what they intend to doe. And all by the fundamentall Laws and constitutions of this Nation.

What would men have more?

1. They have taken the Government into their hands for the good, and freedome of them that have betrusted them.
2. They, by their Declarations, promise to manage all for the Publike good.
3. They constantly affirm that they have no wayes falsified nor betrayed the trust reposed in them.

4. And

4. And though they take up Armes, yet not against the King directly, but against his, and the Kingdomes enemies.

5. Again, the Kings power Politick was tyed to the Parliament by the Act of Continuation. Hee took up Armes first, they onely in defence of themselves, and of his Power which he had secured to them by the foresaid Act. He fought against himself, they for him. Besides, all Declarations, and the Covenant it self were for the preservation of his Majesties person, Power and Estate. The sequels I leave to bee answered by them that know, and promise to defend the Fundamentall Laws of the Kingdome. Hoping they can give a fair account of all proceedings with his late Majesty, and his surviving Posterity.

6. However, they are in possession of the Power, and it is not my part to enquire how, nor to dispute the equity thereof. The Power is in them, and I, for my part will be subject.

Some say, this is not a Parliament, or not the Parliament of the people: for they are but a few of those that were chosen which now sit.

Object.

For my part, I neither know what number is requisite to make a Parliament, nor what number do fit. This we all know that those now sit, doe act as the Power.

Answer.

1. They make no Laws.
2. They order the coynage.
3. They impose taxes, and customes.

And we see no visible Power Superiour to them. So long therefore as the Power is in them, we must be subject to them, as to the Superiour Power.

Thus much of the former part of my Text: with the particulars in it.

2. Now secondly, the reasons enforcing the duty, which, as I said, are two.

1. The first is, the advancement of the Power, whence it is. There is no power [but of God, saith my text.] Chance and Fortune hath no place nor power in this thing, as is shewed before, both from that passage in David (b) and from that in Daniel (i).

(b) Psal. 75. 7.

(i) Dan. 4. 17.

Object.

(k) Hof. 8. 4.

It will be here objected, that the Lord said, they had set up Kings, but not by him, they had made Princes and hee knew it not (k). If hee had no knowledge of, nor hand in those advancements: then all Powers are not ordained by him.

Answ.

That was spoken of *Ieroboam*, and those that followed him in the Kingdome of *Israel*. They obtained not the Kingdom by vertue of the promise made to *David*: but either by defection of the people, or by usurpation, they intruded themselves. Therefore, for that cause the Lord spake as he did. Yet God did know it, and had a hand in it: as a judgement upon *Rahoboam* for his folly, that the people did set up *Ieroboam*. For the Lord owneth the thing: This thing is done by mee, saith the Lord (l). The Lord doth, many times, punish one sin with another: and yet God may be said not to will the thing. It is said of *Elies* sons that they harkened not unto the voice of their father, because the Lord would slay them (m), that is, the Lord had given them up to a wilfull, and disobedient heart, for their wretchednesse, that they might perish. So in the *Israelites* setting up of *Ieroboam* God had a Judiciall hand, as a punishment to them: not an effecting hand, and as a thing pleasing to himself.

(l) 1 King. 12.

24.

2 Chron. 11. 4.

(m) 1 Sam. 2.

25.

Yet further to clear this matter, we must know, that in Government these two things are to be distinguished.

1. First, the office it self, with the institution of it: this is of God. Gods will is, that there should be Authority in some, or other, that justice may be duely, and truly administered. That is, that the good may be protected: the refractory may be restrained, and punished according to desert. This the Apostle sheweth in the third and fourth verses of this Chapter. Where he sheweth the ends of Government, in these words. Rulers are not a terrour to good workes, but to the evill. Wilt thou not be afraid of the Power? doe that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same: for he is the Minister of God to thee for good. But if thou doest that which is evill, be afraid: for he beareth not the sword in vain: for he is the Minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evill (n).

(n) Rom. 13.

3. 4.

2. Secondly,

2. Secondly, the abuse of the Authority. In which regard it may be said, that the Power is not of God : when the right ends, for which it was ordained, is not observed. Therefore if ye marke the text in *Hosea*, ye shall see it is said. They have set up Kings, but not by mee, *id est*, not by vertue of my promise: and they have made Princes and I knew it not, *id est*, I approved not. For though the Lord liketh Power: yet he disliketh the abuse thereof.

If there be no power but of God, then it seemeth that the power whereby we sin against God is of God.

Object.

To answer this, we must distinguish

Answer.

1. The power of acting,
2. From the exercise of that power.

In regard of activity, so all that ability whereby wee are able to doe good and evill, is of God, In whom we live, move, and have our being; But the exercise of that activity to diverse things, as to good, and bad, is from contrary principles. The one is from the grace of God the Creator. The other is from the pravity of the creature. (s) *Act. 17. 28.*

Again, it will bee said, If wee must be subject to the Higher Powers, then by consequent wee must bee subject to the Devill. For he (saith Christ) is the Prince of the world (p). And *Paul* calleth him the God of the world (q). And the Prince of darknesse (r). And the Prince that ruleth in the air (s).

Object.

- (p) *Ioh. 14. 30.*
 (q) *2 Cor. 4. 4.*
 (r) *Ephes. 6. 12.*
 (s) *Ephes. 2. 2.*

For answer hereunto.

Answer.

1. First, we must distinguish of the word World. For by World is sometimes meant the faithfull that are in the world, over whom the Devill hath no ruling power. Sometimes the wicked of the world: these are they that are under the power of the Devill. The whole world lieth in wickednesse, saith *Iohn* (t).

(t) *1 Ioh. 5. 19.*

2. Again, the Devill is a God but in repute: and a Prince but by usurpation. God is the King of all the Earth (u). The Devill hath no lawfull authority to rule, or raige: onely he incroacheth and usurpeth in Gods jurisdiction. This for the first reason.

(u) *Psal. 47. 7.*

2. The second reason is from the danger of resistance, which reflecteth,

(w) Esa. 10. 1.

1. First, upon God, whose Ordinance is resisted. Hee that resisteth the power resisteth the Ordinance of God: the powers being ordained of God. Now Ordinances signifie Decrees and Appointments. There are wicked Ordinances of men, of which the Prophet speaketh (w). But this is the Ordinance of God for the good of his people.

God, in the beginning, gave man a threefold power.

(x) 1 Cor. 15. 22.

1. First, over himself, to rule all his actions, by the power of his Free will. [This is lost in Adam, In whom wee all died (x).

(y) Gen. 1. 18.

2. Secondly, over the Creatures. Have thou dominion (saith God) over the Fish of the Sea, and over the Fowl of the Air, and over every living thing (y). This is much impaired, and almost utterly lost. For as man disobeyed his Creator: so many of the creatures have cast off the yoke of their subjection unto man.

3. Thirdly, one man over another: and this is twofold.

1. First, Oeconomically in the family.

2. Secondly, Politically in the Commonwealth.

Both these remain. Man hath them still, though many men doe miserably abuse them.

God then hath instituted, and ordained Government: it is his Ordinance, and man must submit, and at no hand resist.

Now the Power is resisted two wayes.

1. First, by force, in rising up, and practising against Authority.

2. Secondly, by fraud: as when the Magistrate is either by ill suggestions misinformed, and incensed; or when his just dues are detained.

(z) Job 9. 4.

Now mark the generality. Whosoever by any ways resisteth the Power which is of God, resisteth God himself. And who so resisteth God, medleth with more then his match: and he is sure to goe by the worst. For who ever rebelled against God and prospered (z)? Whosoever, saith my text. No qualification of the person can qualifie the sinne of the person. For the

the Commands of God doe concern all. And the Soul that sinneth shall suffer for it (a). Greatnesse is no priviledge, (a) Ezek. 18. 4. Meannesse no excuse: neither can bear out. For indignation and woe to every soul of man that doth evill (b). (b) Rom. 2. 8.

2. Again it reflecteth on man to this prejudice. They that resist shall receive to themselves damnation, saith the Apostle in my text.

1. It is not said damage.

2. But damnation, which implieth punishment both in this life, and in the next. And that,

1. Both by the hand of men, for the Magistrate may punish his with some severe punishment, as Imprisonment, Confiscation, and with death it self.

2. And God will punish him both here, and hereafter.

And whereas it is said that such shall receive to themselves damnation, it implieth that they are accessary to their owne punishment of what sort soever it be. Wherein their madnes and folly doth appear, in running upon their own hurt, and ruine.

Now the use of all is in two particulars.

Use.

1. First, for information, to teach us that God is the Author of all order, not of confusion (c).

(c) 1 Cor. 14.

1. As in heaven he hath set all things in order. There is order among the holy Angels: for we read of *Michael* the Archangell (d). And though that *Michael* was the Lord Jesus, who is called the Angell of the Covenant (e): yet because it is said *Michael* and his Angels, it sheweth that there is an order even among those glorious Spirits. And one Star differeth from another in glory (f).

33.

(d) Dan. 12. 1.

Iude; v. 9.

Revel. 12. 7.

(e) Mal. 3. 1.

(f) 1 Cor. 15.

2. So in the Church: for *Paul* reckoning certain orders in the Ministry, he saith God hath set some in the Church, First Apostles; Secondly Prophets; Thirdly Teachers; After that Miracles (g). First, Secondly, Thirdly, After that, who seeth not plainly a difference of order, a priority?

(g) 1 Cor. 12.

18.

3. So amongst men on earth, God will have Superiority in some: he requireth Subjection in others.

1. Some would have neither Governours, nor Govern-

(*h*) Jude, ver. 8. ment. They despise Government (*h*). And speake evill of them that are in dignity (*i*). As if all Authority, and Superiority were usurpation : When as my text saith, It is an Ordinance of God.

2. Others not contented with the present Government, specially, not in the hands of those in whom it is now, are faulty in their duty of willing Subjection. But, as I said, we must look up unto God, who sits at the helm, and guideth the steering of all things below. And we must not looke so much upon the person, in which there may be some miscarriages : as upon the Author of the Power, who can not bee faulted. For which cause wee must be subject to the lawfull power, even of those, that in themselves, are lawlesse persons. And blesse God for it, in that hee maketh not man like the fishes of the Sea : or as the creeping things which have no Ruler over them (*k*).

(*k*) Hab. 1. 14.

It is a blessing that we live under Government, whereby we enjoy our Lands, Goods, priviledges, and proprieties : and whatsoever we can justly call our own. Wee read in the History of the Judges, that there were divers out-rages committed.

(*l*) Judg. 17. 6.

1. Of *Micahs* Idolatry (*l*).

(*m*) Judg. 18. 1.

2. Of the violence done to *Micah* by the children of *Dan* (*m*).

(*n*) Judg. 19. 1.

3. Of the indignity done to the Levites Concubine (*n*).

(*o*) Judg. 21. 25.

4. Of the rape committed by the *Benjaminites* (*o*).

And in every of these miscarriages, this is rendered to bee the reason, Because, in those dayes, there was no King in Israel. That is, there was then no settled Government : no constant Magistrate, either to promote vertue, or to punish vice. Honor thy Father and thy Mother, saith God (*p*). And *Paul* ureth the same command even now, in the Gospell times (*q*). Give unto *Cesar* (saith *Christ*) the things that are *Cesars* (*r*), and yet *Cesar* was no Christian, but Heathen Emperour. Let every Soul be subject, saith my text. Submit your selves to every ordinance of man for the Lords sake, saith the Apostle (*s*), Ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but for conscience sake, saith *Paul* (*t*).

(*p*) Exod. 20. 12

(*q*) Ephes. 6. 2

(*r*) Mat. 22. 21

(*s*) 1 Pet. 2. 13

(*t*) Rom. 13. 5

So then Christians are bound to subjection by a threefold right.
1. First

1. First, in respect of God : for it is his Ordinance.
2. Secondly, in respect of the Powers : it being due to the Magistrate.
3. Lastly, in respect of our selves: that we would not Conscience; For even Conscience hath this principle in it, that Authority must be obeyed.

2. Again, this is for condemnation of those that despise Dominion, and speak evill of Dignities. As if all Authority were Usurpation, and an Anarchie the best form of a Common-wealth. But it is sufficiently shewed before, that the Lord would have Order, and Government among men. And my text is a concluding text against these, which requireth Subjection in every Soul.

To these may be added, those that would have Government, but it must be of their own framing : and therefore will not yeeld their Subjection to the present visible Power.

1. Some would have a King : as the Israelites said to *Samuel*, Make us now a King to judge us like all Nations (v). (v) 1 Sam. 8. 5. And though *Samuel* told them what inconveniences might befall them under Kingly Government: yet they were instant, and importunate. [Nay but we will have a King to rule over us (w). (w) 1 Sam. 8.

2. Others doe better affect a State Government, a Common-wealth. But Subjection is required to both, as God shall set up the one or the other. Put them in minde (saith the Apostle) to be subject to Principalities, and Powers, and to obey Magistrates (x). Magistrates indefinitely, as not limiting (x) Tit. 3. 1. it to any one sort, or kind of Superiours.

These things considered, I, for my part, can find no ground for resistance; be the Magistrate what he will, if he be invested with the Power, Subjection is his due, and it is our duty. And for the present Power in the hands of the State,

1. God hath set it up for his own ends.
2. Wee must not, of our selves, goe about to pull it down: leave that to him, to whom it belongeth to alter or establish (y). God hath disposed that to be the Power : So long (y) Psal. 75. 7. Dan. 4. 17. therefore

therefore as it is the Power, every Soul must submit, must be subject to it.

Q. But how if the Power doth advance it self? and by indirect wayes and means?

R. Yet we must be subject to it: for though we may, while any usurping power is attempting, make resistance to defeat it: yet if it hath got possession, then there is a kinde of conquest, and that altereth the case. For it cannot get possession but by Gods disposition. And Gods judgements are alwayes just, though the means subservient cannot alwayes, nor in all things be justified.

1. *Jacob* got the blessing, (which was his brother *Esau's* right) by indirect, unjustifiable means (z): and yet could not get his father to reverse it. I have blessed him, saith *Isaac*, (a) *Gen. 27. 33.* yea and he shall be blessed (a).

2. But more appertinent to our purpose is that of *Baasha*, (b) *1 King. 15.* he conspired against *Nadab*, and slew him, and reigned in his stead (b): and yet it is said the Lord exalted him. For as much as I exalted thee out of the dust, and made thee Prince over my people *Israel* (c). The like is said of *Jeroboam*. Hee gat the Kingdome of *Israel* by a faction (d), yet the Lord saith he exalted him, and made him prince over the people *Israel* (e). (f) *1 King. 16.* And *Zimri* conspired against *Ela* the son of *Baasha*, and reigned in his stead (f), of whom it is said that he destroyed all the house of *Baasha*, according to the word of the Lord (g). (g) *1 King. 16.*

Ob. Some may happily say, that I am no friend to Kingly Government.

R. I am a friend, and will be a friend to Government: to what Government so ever the Lord is, and shall bee pleased to set up.

1. If he set up Kingly Government again: as I have been, so I shall be subject to it.

2. And now that he hath set up another Government, I dare not make resistance.

The visible power for the present is that which I shall eie with reverence and respect.

1. If good, then have I cause to joy with the people of God.

2. If

2. If bad, I must reflect upon the cause, which is sin. However therefore, *Paul*, in my text biddeth me be subject.

And what I have now spoken as in mine owne person, I doe entreat all Subjects to apply it to themselves, because my text saith, *Let every Soule be subject to the Higher Powers.*

I had thought here to have made an end: but I am necessitated to enlarge my selfe, to free my self from imputations which might be cast upon mee, for some things which I delivered in the beginning of our unhappy Distractions, viz. Concerning the Hostility: the Arms which were taken up by the Parliament, for the security of the State.

And then I said, and so I say still, That Armes were first taken up by the counsell, and advice of an adverse disaffected party.

1. To deprive the Kingdome of its undoubted rights.
2. To invade Religion.
3. And to suppress all Parliamentary power for the time to come.

Notwithstanding the many humble addressses, and large proffers of both Houses then sitting, of augmentation of Honour and Revenew.

And therefore Armes were reassumed by the best affected, for the Kingdomes safety: and to defend what the Law of Natures, and the Laws of this Nation had made our owne. And what He, by whom Kings reign, had given unto us.

To clear this, we must remember that Arms were first taken up by the instigation of a discontented party.

1. To force conditions upon the Parliament: and thereby to bring the Kingdome into a miserable slavery, under Prerogatives lawlesse and unlimited power.
2. And to protect and keep notorious incendiaries from the hand of Justice.

And consider withall;

1. Both, what Proclamations were procured to render the Parliament, and Parliamentary proceedings odious to the people.

2. And what attempts were made to Quash, Quell, Suppress,

preſſe the preſent Parliament, notwithstanding its eſtabliſhment by a Law to which his Maſteſty then was a party : and thereby to deprive the Kingdom of all hope of benefit by Parliaments for the time to come.

Let all indifferent men judge if the Parliament had not cauſe to ſtand up in the Kingdomes and its own defence. And if the Kingdom was not concerned (as the caſe then ſtood) to ſtand up with, and for the Parliament (the Kingdomes Truſtees); and to Covenant with them, in the preſence of the King of Kings.

1. The Laws were violated,
2. The State diſtracted, and diſtempered by factious Spirits.
3. Religion (the joy of our lives, the very life of our ſouls) was in danger.
4. The Subjects Priviledges, and Proprieties were invaded.
5. Notorious Delinquents ſtood up, and were protected from Law, againſt all Law.

1. The Cauſe was common.
2. The Faction great.
3. Their violence inſufferable.
4. And every ones Interſt was concerned in it.

By which means the Kingdom lay bleeding, and weltering in its bloud. Conſider theſe things, and judge righteouſly. For Armes were not taken up againſt the King directly : but againſt his, and the Kingdomes enemies. Againſt thoſe that had ſet the Nations in Combution.

Ob. But that was the Kings party. And was it the part of Subjects to take up Arms againſt him in his party ?

R. The Kings party was two wayes to be conſidered.

1. Either as his perſon was engaged by meere ſurprizall onely.
2. Or as he might engage himſelfe by voluntary conſent, whereby hee may bee ſaid to bee ſurprized in his judgement alſo.

1. For the firſt, the caſe is clear : that Armes might bee taken

taken up to disingage his person, howsoever, or by whomsoever it might be in danger of surprizing: or if it had been actually surprized. To this purpose we have the example of *Abishai* his reskuing *David's* person from *Ishbi-Berob*, when slaughter or (h) 2 Sam. 21. surprizall, was justly to be feared (h): and *Abrahams* example 16. in reskuing of *Lot* is (i) not altogether impertinent. And if (i) Gen. 14. 16. none can be excused, if he help not the innocent when hee is in danger, as *Solomon* saith, If thou forbear to deliver them that are drawn to death, and those that are ready to be slaine, &c. (k). Then much lesse can Subjects bee excused, if they see (k) Pro. 24. 11. their King in apparent danger, and withdraw from him.

2. For the second, grant it was so: yet where his voluntary consent was not regulated in the judgement of the Grand Councell of the Kingdome (which ought to be Iudge next under God, and his word of all State Queries) and in this case: Armes might bee taken up by the advice and Authority of that Grand Councell, rather then the whole should wrack and come to ruine.

And this maketh the case clear, that Armes were not taken up,

1. Against the person of the late King,
2. Nor against his Politick power,
3. Nor against a Legall party:

But against a discontented, a perfidious party to their country, that had Captivated his Majesties person, or his judgement, or both, by force, or flattery, for their own pernicious ends. Thus was King *Charles* abused, and made resolute to the ruine of himselfe, and of his Posterity.

Besides the King in one of his Messages to the Parliament, or in one of his Declarations confessed that the Parliament had power sufficient to take up Armes,

1. In their just defence,
2. For the Kingdomes safety,
3. And to bring Delinquents unto Justice.

Which is an unanswerable argument to prove the Legality of the Defensive Warre: it being concluded directly from his grants.

Obj. Some say that hee was driven from the Parliament.

R. I demand, Who drove him? Not the Parliament, for they used no force, nor any thing that might terrifie and affright him. If it were clamours of discontented people: I dare say, if he would been pleased to stay, they would have provided for his safety before their own. The truth is, he was drawn away by the adverse party for Destructive ends. But let me demand, Did not many petitions follow him from place to place? To *Newmarket*, and almost, if not altogether, to *York*? were not many proffers made to him of increase of honor, and revenue? And yet all would not prevaile.?

Obj. But did not the Parliament, or their Forces, or the Parliament by their Forces seek his life?

R. Yes, the preservation, not the destruction of it. For justification whereof, consider

1. The Protestation,
2. All Declarations,
3. The Nationall Covenant.

Shew me any thing in any one of them, that soundeth that way, by any construction that can be made of them, or any of them: and then I am convinced.

Ob. But did they not detain his revenue from him? & who so detaineth that which should preserve life, do they not in effect, what in them lieth to take away the life it self? I am sure it is within the compasse of the Sixt Commandement.

R. It was not simply detained from him: but rather reserved for him, lest it should be employed contrary to the originall uses, or uses for which it was conferred upon him. For that vast maintenance was, at first, annexed to the Crowne, both for the Honour of the King, and for the welfare of the Kingdome.

And the Parliament did declare to be responsall for it, whensoever the King should be pleased to return to his place, and duty. In the mean time it was reserved, lest the enemies of King and Kingdome, should have been enabled therewith to manage their cruell and destructive ends.

Ob,

Obj. But you said that Religion was in danger. Did not the King in his manifold Declarations, and that with deepest Protestations, and bitter Execrations on himselfe, and his, Declare for the Protestant Religion? what would men have had more?

A. I confesse I saw those Declarations, and stood amazed, when I considered withall,

1. A Proclamation in Popish parts for the advancement of the Catholick Religion in *England*.

2. The Irish Rebels (professed Papists) invited, and called to his assistance,

3. A Popes *Nuncio* entertained here.

4. Papists licensed to arm themselves, and admitted into his Armies.

5. A Bull from *Rome*.

6. And Letters that were intercepted; for an Ecclesiasticall Hierarchy, to be confirmed by the Pope.

There was some poison under this Plantain.

But the Parliament declared for more then the Generall Name of Protestancy. And I would fain know whether

1. Be better in it self,

2. Or more be desired? the Protestant Religion in generall; or the perfection of it by Reformation?

Obj. But where is your Glorious Reformation? Is not all turned to confusion under pretence of Reformation?

R. The Reformation hath so far proceeded as to out the Pope and Popery; and to free us from Prelaticall Impositions, Inquisitions, Innovations. This is more then could have been expected if the other party had prevailed. Yet it grieveth my heart, that it sticketh there; the cause I know not; I dare not judg: yet in my Prayers I shall not be a wanting to the cause of Religion.

Obj. But you said, that the Parliament or their Forces did not seek the Kings life: how cometh it then to passe that they took away his life?

R. He is dead, and that by the hand of Violence, a violent death; but not without the hand of Justice. And for my part I

doe often lament over him, as *David* did over *Abner*, Died
 (l) 2 Sam. 3. 33. *Abner* as a fool (l)? There is a Prince, a great man fallen in Is-
 (m) 2 Sam. 3. 38. *rael* (m). And as *David* did over *Saul*, and over *Jonathan* his
 (n) 2 Sam. 1. 19. son, How are the mighty overthrown (n)? How were the
 (o) 2 Sam. 1. 25. mighty slain (o)? The beauty of *Israel* is slain (p.) And for the
 (p) 2 Sam. 1. 19. death of the King I have already answered so far as concern-
 neth Declarations, Protestation, Covenant; at which time
 I am confident there was no such intent, what ever others
 conceit to the contrary. How the case altered, I know not,
 unlesse his

1. Willfull adhering to the adverse party.
2. His not complying for the good of the Kingdome.
3. His rejecting all tenders and addressees made to him: did render him liable to further suspicion, as not to bee confided in any longer: but to be stripped of his honour which hee had prostituted to others base designs. And therefore by the fundamentall Laws of the Kingdome (wherewith I am not acquainted) to be deprived of his life as well as his Honor, and Livelyhood. And therefore I leave it to be further answered, by those that are versed in the Fundamental Law: and are able to give an account of all their proceedings against him, and his.

(q) Ps. 105. 15. *Obj.* And what say you to *David's* words? Touch not mine Anointed (q).

R. I answer, that text speaketh to Kings, not of Kings. It was a restraint to Kings to warn them not to oppresse, nor resist Gods people, who are called Gods anointed ones, because they have an unction from the Holy one (r). This appeareth to be so by the context. He reproveth Kings for their sakes, saying, Touch not mine Anointed.

1. This did literally concern the *Israelites* in their progress to the promised land.
2. And it reflecteth upon Christians in all the time of their pilgrimage towards the Heavenly *Canaan*, *Jerusalem* above, which is the Mother of us all (s).

(s) Gal. 4. 26.

The *Israelites* were not to be hindred in their journey: nor Christians to be discouraged in their Christian course.

Obj.

Obj. But what say you to *Dauids* Example?

1. His heart smote him when he had cut off *Sauls* skirt (t). (t) 1 Sam. 24. 5.
2. He stayed his servants from doing any hurt to *Sauls* person (u). (u) 1 Sam. 24. 7.
3. He excused his innocency in not taking away *Sauls* life. For, said he, He is the Lords anointed (w). (w) 1 Sam. 24. 10.
4. And when the *Amalekite* accused himself as guilty of the death of *Saul*: he answered, Wast thou not afraid to stretch forth thine hand against the Lords Anointed (x)? (x) 2 Sam. 1. 14.

King *Charles* was the Lords anointed, and yet the Parliament was not afraid, to resist, affront, attach, condemn, and to put him to death.

A. The answer hereunto hath divers particulars.

1. First, that *David* was a private person: for though hee was anointed to be King, yet he was not to succeed till the Lord had made *Sauls* place void. This appeareth by *Dauids* words to *Abisbai*. As the Lord liveth,

1. The Lord shall smite him:
2. Or his daies shall come to die:
3. Or he shall descend into battell, and perish. The Lord forbid that I should stretch out my hand against the Lords anointed (y). By which it appeareth that *David* was an ordinary subject, though he was anointed: and therefore resolved to be faithfull to *Saul* all the days that *Saul* should live. (y) 2 Sam. 16. 10.

2. Again, *Saul* was nominated by God: and actually anointed at Gods command (z). Therefore he was to reign till God did take him away. But Kings now are not named by God, nor actually anointed: They are only said so to bee in a large sense, and metaphorically. (z) 1 Sam. 9. 17. 10. 1.

3. Thirdly, none did stretch forth his hand against the King directly; but the forces were raised at the first to disengage him from the disaffected party (whose project was to ruine all for their own ends) and to reduce the King to his bounden duty.

4. Lastly, violence may be resisted by force, when there is no other way left. And though every particular person may not manage that business of Resistance by his own authority: yet

yet by the authority of the State it may be done. For, not only usurping Tyrants, but wicked Rulers, that is, such Rulers as

1. Oppose the State,
2. And oppress their Subjects by Illegalities, may be resisted and removed too, by the whole State. For from whom Kings doe receive their dignity,

1. Whether by Election and composition with the people,
2. Or by Succession: by the same they may be compelled to return unto their duty, and to keep within their bounds. And this holdeth

1. Not only in such Kingdomes as are meerly by Elections.

2. But in those also which are by Succession, and Inheritance: specially if such Kings be bound by oath, or Solemne promise, at their Coronation, to conditions: as it seemeth it was in this Kingdome. And *David's* demeanour towards *Saul* doth justifie this State in their raising of Arms. For, though *David* did not assault *Saul*, yet he stood upon his defence, yea though it was against *Saul* who was the Lords anointed

(a) 1 Sam, 22, 2. (a).

Obj. But what say you to the oath of Allegiance? What? swear Allegiance to him, and fight against him, and kill him?

R. For killing him I say no more but what I have said before, p. 29.

2. But for resistance: besides what I have said before, Read, and consider the form of that oath of Allegiance, and ye shall find in it nothing to the contrary: but that the Hostility was lawfull notwithstanding that oath: The oath hath in it four particulars.

1. First, that King *Charls* was lawfull, and rightful King in all his Dominions. Who ever denied that?

2. Again, that the Pope hath no power to depose him, nor to dispose of any of his Dominions: nor to discharge his Subjects of their Allegiance. Who ever affirmed, the Pope had any such power but Papists? and yet they were admitted into his

his Armies, to be the Assertors of his Prerogative.

3. Thirdly, notwithstanding any Declaration, or sentence of Excommunication derived, or pretended to be derived from the Pope: yet to bear true Allegiance to his Majesty. Now in all that hath been done to his late Majesty, it was by Parliamentary Power, and not from any Power from the Pope, neither directly nor indirectly.

4. Lastly, to defend the King, his Person, Crown, and Dignity from all conspiracies, and attempts. And to disclose all Treasons, and Treacherous conspiracies. Now no man dare say that there was any Treason, or Treacherous conspiracy in any of the proceedings against him. And what was done to him was not done in a secret way of conspiring: but in the Publique way of Justice. Nor was it secretly carried on, but made Publique and manifest by Declarations.

Consider the severall heads of that oath, and you shall find that none of them were violated, no not by the Hostility. Because Armes were not taken up against the King directly: but against Incendiaries, evill instruments which were about him, as hath been said, By whom

1. The Kings person was captivated.
2. His power abused.
3. His Subjects tyrannized over.
4. His Dominions put into a fearfull combustion.
5. And the Kingdome by their means in the way to Desolation.

And in a word, to free the Kings person from their Engagement, that so, his person and power politique, which were so far distant in place, might have been united again.

But there are three Texts in *Solomons* writings, which were objected against the Hostility of the Defending party.

Arg. 1. *Solomon* saith, I counsell thee to keep the Kings command, and that in regard of the oath of God (b).

(b) Eccles. 8. 2.

A. I answer, that that text of *Solomon* seemeth, in sound of syllables to speak as much as can be spoken against the Hostility: but if well examined it proveth nothing: no such thing for which it is produced. I find that Text two wayes expounded,

F

1. Some

1. Some by King in the Text, understand God himself: as if this were the sense. I counsell thee to keep all Gods commandments, for his solemn promise and Covenant sake.

(c) Exod. 24. 3. &c. And they that so expound it do referre it to that in Exodus (c), where Moses relating the words of God to the people, they with one voice said, All that the Lord hath spoken we will doe. Whereupon Moses built an Altar, and caused Burnt-offerings to be offered, and Peace-offerings to be sacrificed thereon: and took of the blood and sprinkled it upon the people, and said, Behold the blood of the Covenant.

This was a solemn manner of protesting, and is called, The Oath of the Lord, as all solemn oaths are called in the Scripture. For confirmation whereof, take notice what is said.

1. Concerning a beast that was lent, and it die, or be hurt, and be taken away, no man seeing it. Then an oath of the Lord shall be between them, that he hath not put his hand to his neighbours goods (d).
(d) Exod. 22. 10, 11.

2. And concerning Shimei that went out of his City, to which he was confined by oath, Solomon saith to him, Why hast thou broken the oath of the Lord (e)?
(e) 1 Kin. 2. 42.

3. And that Covenant which was between God and the people for obedience spoken of in Exodus (f), It is called, The Lords oath (g).
(f) Exod. 24. 3. (g) Deu. 29. 12.

And if this be the sense, that text alleged out of Solomon, proveth nothing: it not speaking of an earthly, but of the Heavenly King.

2. Others, and I think more properly, by King do understand the Supream Magistrate, by whatsoever title of dignity he be called. And that clause, In regard of the oath of God, they take to be a limitation. As if this were the sense, or as if Solomon had said,

1. Let Magistrates be obeyed.

2. Yet so far, and no further, as will stand with faith, a good conscience, and with our allegiance unto God.

And the reason is good, because there is no power but of God (h); and that power which the Magistrate hath from, and

and is to exercise and execute under God, must not be used to deprive God of his due: nor to force obedience contrary to the will of God: which obedience to himself the Lord requireth of all, and hath sworn he will exact it of all. I have sworn by my self, the word is gone out of my mouth in righteousness, and shall not return, That every knee shall bow to mee: and every tongue shall swear to me⁽ⁱ⁾.

(i) Esay 45. 23.

Here is the oath of the Lord: and it must be shewed me out of Gods word what is contrary, or this must be the sense. Namely, Swear to obey Magistrates, yet so, as ye infringe not your allegiance unto God. And this seemeth to be the more probable, because where obedience is commanded in larger terms to Parents and to Masters, as, Children obey your Parents in all things^(k), Servants be obedient in all things^(l), It is, elsewhere, limited to all lawfull things. Children obey your Parents in the Lord^(m), and so of Servants⁽ⁿ⁾. And so, by consequent are Magistrates to be obeyed, viz. in all lawfull and just things. For there is the same reason of both, as appeareth by the tenour of the first Commandment: Honor thy Father and thy Mother^(o): Where, under the terms of Father and Mother, all sorts of Superiours (Politically, Oeconomically, Civill, and Ecclesiasticall, Superiour and Inferiour) are comprehended. And this is a truth undeniable, that

(k) Col. 3. 20.

(l) Col. 3. 22.

(m) Eph. 6. 1.

(n) Eph. 6. 5.

(o) Exo. 20. 12.

1. To God, universall obedience and without any limitation is required.

2. But to men, obedience hath its limitations.

And upon this ground, the Three Children refused to worship the image which Nebuchadnezzar had set up^(p). And Peter with the rest of the Apostles told the Councell that we ought to obey God rather than men^(q). And Peter and John appealing to the Councell said, whether it bee right in the sight of God to hearken to you rather than to God, judge yee^(r).

(p) Dan. 3. 16.

(q) Acts 5. 29.

(r) Acts 4. 19.

But wee may answer yet otherwise, Namely, That King Charles his power was virtually in and with the Parliament, though he was not there in person. And so he in his Politique power, was in the raising the Armies against the Adverse party. For

1. Though his person was absent, and estranged from his Parliament;

2. Yet King and Parliament being a body Politick, could not be severed. God, and the Law had conjoined them : and those whom God had so firmly conjoined, no man could justly put asunder. Wherefore wheresoever the King was in person, where could we seek his power Politick but in that place, and with those persons to which himself by royal obsignation of that Law had confined it?

For confirmation whereof three things are to be taken into serious consideration.

1. First, the Legall Call of this Parliament, which was common to this, with all precedent Parliaments; it was summoned by writ from the King : and that summons was necessitated by want of counsell and support, which otherwise could not be had but in a Parliamentary way.

And herein we are to admire and reverence the Providence of God, to send a free Parliament beyond all hope & expectation. For had we fallen to blows with the *Scotish* Nation in either of those Expeditions, which were made against them, one or both Kingdomes had in all probability gone to ruine. As *Jacob* therefore said of *Simeon* and *Levi* : Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce, and their wrath, for it was cruell(s) : So say I of those that were the Counsellors and contrivers of that destroying project, Cursed was their counsell, for it was full of cruelty. Yet God who only can bring good out of evill, turned this to both Kingdomes good. For by that means the King was necessitated to call a Parliament,

1. To the joy and admiration of the Best affected.

2. To the terrour and astonishment of the Adverse party. Some whereof being conscious of their guilt, not willing to abide the tryall, betook themselves to flight.

The Parliament therefore was lawfully called this none can deny. Let those therefore that have called this a forced, not a free Parliament, either answer this, or for ever hereafter hold their peace for shame.

2. Again,

2. Again, the solemn confirmation of the Parliament by Act of continuation. In which this present, differeth from all precedent Parliaments, that ever I could hear or read of. I say the continuation of it,

1. In its full authority.

2. And with all its rights, and Priviledges.

Did not the King, by that Act, tie his presence, at least the presence of his Politick power, and Sovereign authority, as Head, and Chief in Parliament to the place, or with the persons, to which he had confined, and confirmed it? Let all the world judg. If otherwise, I would fain know,

1. Of what force that Act was,

2. Or what benefit could accrue to the Kingdome thereby.

Let us put a case or two.

1. If any man should purchase, Estate Right or Priviledge of any other, and have the same made over to him by written and by sealed evidence, and have a lawfull seisure thereof: the purchaser hath an Indefeisable, an unavoidable title thereto: and great reason to hold and enjoy what hath been so made over to him upon valuable considerations.

2. Or if a father (for this similitude fitteth the case best) shall freely give an estate to his son or sons, for his, or their preferment, specially in the way of Marriage: though the father take no consideration in lieu thereof: such gift is good in Law, and doth debarre the father from all Re-entry. But if in lieu and recompence hee take the Dowry, or any part thereof, or any other collaterall satisfaction: that estate being therewith purchased, no Law can ever reverse, or make the fathers act of none effect.

Here is the case: for if our father the late King had freely given that act of Continuation for the bettering of our condition, it had been sufficient for the duration of it. But passing it over by way of purchase for vast sums by Subsidies, Pole-monies and the rest, this makes the case strong: and the Kingdoms armies which were advanced by the authority of the High Court were to maintain that act, to defend that title:

Subjection.

And if a father, after such act done shall wage Law to dis-
seise, and dispossesse his son or sons: shall it not be lawfull for
him or them to defend the said title, by the same Law? or is it
any injustice in such son or sons? Certainly it is no disobedi-
ence. Our father the late King did estate the Kingdom as hath
been shewed: and after did commence sute by taking up of
armes: and might not the Subjects then defend their purcha-
sed title by the same Law of Arms: and as it were in the same
Court of Judicature?

3. Lastly, Consider the late Kings Grant, his free acknow-
ledgment, that the present Parliament at *Westminster* was the
Parliament of *England*. Mark the emphatic,

1. Not only a Parliament,
2. Not only a Parliament in *England*;
3. But, in full expressions, The Parliament of *England*, that
is,

1. The Legally called,
2. The Solemnly confirmed,
3. The Legally continued,
4. The one and only Parliament of *England*; And here
1. No fallacious Equivocation,
2. No mentall Reservation,
3. No forged Cavillation,
4. No forced Construction must have any place. But all
words in commerce and contracts must be understood accor-
ding to the Grammaticall construction, common use, and re-
ceived sense: or all parties, contracts, grants, and promises
would prove but meer illusions, and devoid of confidence. So
much for the first Argument.

(1) Eccle. 8. 4. Arg. 2. Again, *Solomon* saith, where the word of a King is
there is power; and who may say to him, What dost thou?
(1).

A. This argument hath two parts.

1. First, that every word of a King hath power.
2. Again, that in his wayes and doings hee is uncontrolla-
ble.

1. For the first, Hath every word of a King power? How
then

then came it to passe, that King *Sauls* words had no more power? He said, and bound it with an oath that *Jonathan* his son should die: but the people gainfayed, and rescued *Jonathan* (v) 1 Sam. 14. (v), And wee doe not read that ever the people were faulted for it.

But this is certain, that when a Kings word is rash, ridiculous, impious or impossible, it hath no power in it.

1. No commanding power in regard of the thing commanded.

2. Though there may likely be a condemning power in respect of the person refusing.

2. Again, is a King in all his doings not to be controlled? *Solomon* doth not speak of the Illegality of the thing: but only of the danger, He doth not say, It is not lawfull to say to a King, What dost thou? but he doth insinuate that it is full of danger, Who may say? that is, Who may safely doe it? For,

1. First, it seemeth to be lawfull, it may be said to a King, What dost thou? as appeareth

By that of *Samuel* to *Saul*, What hast thou done (w)? (w) 1 Sam. 13.

And by that of *Elijah* to King *Ahab*, I have not troubled Israel, but thou and thy fathers house (x). (x) 1 Ki. 18. 18.

And by that of *John* the Baptist to *Herod*, It is not lawful for thee to have thy brothers wife (y). (y) Mar. 14. 4.

2. But it seemeth to be very dangerous, if we consider *Jeroboams* dealing with the man of God. Lay hold on him said *Jeroboam* (z). (z) 1 Kin. 13. 4.

Or *Ahabs* dealing with *Micaiah*. Put this man in prison (a) 1 Ki. 22. 27. (a).

Or *Amaziah* his dealing with the Prophet that did reprove him. Art thou made of the Kings Council? Why shouldst thou be smitten (b)? (b) 2 Ch. 25. 16.

It is therefore lawfull, person and manner considered: but is very dangerous.

Arg. 3. Again *Solomon* saith, The fear of a K. is as the roaring of a Lyon: whoso provoketh him to anger sinneth against his own soul (c). Where ye see Sin and Soul joined together, and (c) Pro. 20. 20. it.

it must needs imply that such an one sinneth damnably, or to death.

A. I answer, that this is a fallacy of the figure of speech; for neither Sin nor Soul are used in a proper sense. For,

1. First, by Soul is meant Life, as in divers other texts of Scripture, but especially in the *Psalms*: as in these passages that follow.

(d) Psal. 17. 13. Deliver my Soul from the ungodly (d).

(e) Psal. 57. 4. They have laid waite for my Soul (e).

(f) Psal. 7. 2. Lest he tear my Soul like a Lyon (f).

And in many other such like passages Soul is used in that sense.

2. Again, the word Sinne is not alwaies used to signify a transgression of a Divine law, which is properly called Sinne, as *John* defineth Sinne to be the transgression of the Law (g). But,

1. Sometimes it is largely used for missing of a mark; Thus it is said of the Children of *Benjamin*, that they could fling stones at an hairs breadth and not sinne, or misse (h). And saith *Solomon*, He that is hasty with his feet sinneth or slippeth

(i) Prov. 19. 2. (i).

2. Again, a man is said to sin against another man by doing some injustice to him, whereby he is either hurt or wronged. In which sense *Reuben* said to his brethren, Spake I not unto you, saying, Doe not sin against the child (k)?

(k) Gen. 42. 22. And a man is said to sin against his own soul, when hee doth something which may call his life in question. And thus is *Solomon* to be understood, in the text objected, viz. He that provoketh a King to anger sinneth against his own Soul. And that this is *Solomons* meaning it appeareth by two other passages, viz.

(l) Prov. 19. 12. The Kings wrath is as the roaring of a Lyon (l).

(m) Prov. 16. 14. The wrath of a King is as the messengers of death (m).

But if any list to interpret Sinne and Soul properly, then it must be understood of a just provocation: and not of every anger or offence rashly taken. And it cannot be forgotten, who took up arms first, and who stroke the first blow.

But

But why doe I speak of provoking a King, when we have no King in *Esse*, no not so much as in *Posse*, so far as we can see with the eyes of worldly possibility? But a King we had when I first delivered these things. But he is dead and gone, and as I said before, I doe often lament over him as *David* did over *Ahner*(*n*), and over *Saul* and *Jonathan*(*o*), and as all *Judah* did over (*n*) 2 Sam. 3. 38. *Josiah*. The crown is fallen from our heads: woe to us that wee (*o*) 2 Sam. 1. 19. have sinned(*p*). O brethren we have sinned. (*p*) Lam. 5. 16.

1. Our sins miscarried him into Illegall courses.
2. Our sins apprehended, secured, arraigned, condemned, executed him.

Let the Nation therefore lament her sins: and prize Superiors at a higher rate. And, for our sins, God hath made an alteration. Let us not struggle against the Dispensations of overruling Providence. But let us say, with the *Psalmist*, This is the Lords doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes(*q*). And let (*q*) Psa. 118. 23. us own the Power in their hands to whom God hath transferred it. And we now see where the Power is: let us own it, and be subject to it. And spoken be it to every Soul. Let every Soul be subject, &c.

The Conclusion.

All that is said before considered, I, for my part, can see no ground

1. Either in Reason,
 2. Or of Religion,
- Why I should make any scruple of Conscience to subscribe the Engagement. Why I may not

1. Freely subscribe,
2. Faithfully observe,
3. Cordially obey,
4. Constantly submit unto that Government which is now settled by full authority of the Power in Being: which must be acknowledged(as things now stand)to be in the hands of the Commons of *England*, by their Trustees, and Representatives in Parliament.

The form of the Engagement is this.

I(*T. C.*) doe declare and promise to bee faithfull to the Commonwealth in the Government now established without a King, or House of Lords,

G

And

Subjection.

And note I pray you, that faithfulness to the Commonwealth in the Government established, to which we do oblige our selves by subscription; is not to be understood of an unlimited subjection in regard of things to be done: but it is to be understood of things lawfull, possible, and honest. Which is the condition of all Civill Engagements; for unlimited obedience is due to God only, as is shewed before, p. 27, 28.

Obj. But it will be said that this Engagement doth crosse, and contradict

1. Both the Protestation made in *Anno* 1641.
2. And the Covenant made in *Anno* 1643.
3. And a Declaration of the House of Commons made in *Anno* 1646.

1. In the first we did Protest, according to our duty of allegiance, to maintain, and defend his Majesties Royall person, honour, and estate. Where was a full stop, as not relating to any conditions.

2. In the second we did covenant to preserve the Kings Majesties person and authority, in the preservation and defence of the true Religion, and the Liberties of the Kingdome. That the world may bear witness with our consciences of our Loyalty: and that we have no thoughts and intentions to diminish his Majesties just power, and greatness.

3. In the last, it was declared by the House of Commons (which Declaration was published in every Church, and was commanded to be fastned up in every Church: and is to be seen still in many Churches) that their intentions were not to alter the Government by King, Lords, and Commons.

These things being protested, covenanted and declared, now to subscribe a Government without a King or House of Lords; This is that which sticketh most, and with many that are very moderate, and truly conscientious.

R. This is thought to be hard to be answered. But let us consider how things then stood. And distinguish of the times.

1. As things then stood, all was really intended.
2. But the Kings non-compliance: and some miscarriage in the

the House of Lords, have been the cause of the alteration of things both really intended, Solemnly protested, and Publickly declared.

2. And though the Protestation was larger then the Covenant, there being a full stop, as not relating to any Conditions as I said before.

2. Now his late Majesty continuing wilfully in his ways which threatned ruine, by his Forces, to Religion, and to Liberties. Therefore the Covenant was, upon second thoughts, framed: which was an addition to, and an exposition of that clause of Defence, as to his Majesties Person, and Authority. Shewing,

1. Both wherein,

2. And how far, we should manage that Defence: namely, to the good of Religion, and to the safety of the Commonwealth, with all its just Rights, and Priviledges: and not to the prejudice of either.

So long as the King did shew himself a Father, a foster Father of the Church, and State, the Kingdome was bound, by its manifold engagements, to defend his Person, and his Power. And had the King done his part timely, and effectually, it had been somewhat. But consider,

1. What Petitions were presented to him.

2. What large proffers were made to him,

3. What Delayses, that I say nothing of Denyals, were made by him.

4. What Sinister Successes the many Addresses had from him.

5. How fruitlesse all the Treaties have been since those engagements.

6. What under-hand Dealings, (by his Party, and now without his Privity) there have been even during the times of those Treaties.

Whosoever shall but read that Declaration which setteth forth the reasons of the Resolves of both Houses then sitting, for no more Addresses to be made to him: shall see enough to make his heart relent in him even in both regards, viz. of

(r) Rom. 9. 1.

Religion, and of Liberties. I speak the truth in Christ Jesus, I lie not, my Conscience bearing mee witnesse in the Holy Ghost (r), That I cannot read it but my very Soul resolveth into teares, at many things therein Declared which were of dangerous consequence both to Church and State. And I hope no man can justly brand that Declaration with the imputation

1. Either of flattery on the one side:

2. Or of falshood on the other.

If so, it were ten thousand pities, it is not published for generall satisfaction.

What passed in the Isle of *Wight*, I cannot fully relate: but somewhat there was which favoured not well as to security of Religion, or Liberties: which was the main cord of Obligation in all the Solemn Engagements, both by Protestation, and by Covenant.

1. If any Commissions were then given underhand.

2. If any Plottings by the Royall Party, by vertue of any new or old Commissions to make that Treaty fruitlesse, and Invalid, even during the time of that Treaty.

3. If any Combinations by the Royalists to attempt their owne ends by making Factions, and Parties. As who for King? who for Parliament? Of which the best affected had great Jealousies, and not without just cause, and many fears. Then consider how farre that clause of Defence did oblige. The ends being despaired of, for to which those Engagements did relate.

Ob. Now some say, that the whole Kingdome hath broken Covenant, in not rising, but sitting still, till the King was put to death,

R. No: the Covenant it self is not broken, because the ends could not be secured. And besides private men by private authority, may not manage a rising against Authority. The power of the Commons is in their trustees: to them it belongs to Legitimate all publick Force. Hee that taketh the Sword, shall perish with the Sword, saith Christ to Peter (s): that is, he that taketh the sword of private revenge, shall perish by the Sword of Publike Justice.

Well,

(s) Mat. 26. 52.

Well, dead he is, and not without the disposing hand of God. It cannot be denyed, but he was a personage of Rare, and Royall parts. And had he not been seduced by evil Counsels to his own ruine, as *Athaziah* was, of whom it is said, his Counsellors were the cause of his destruction (t) Hee might still have been, (t) 2 Chron. 22.4.

1. A Glorious King,
2. Over a most faithfull people,
3. In a most flourishing Island,
But he is translated (though by an untimely death) to a more glorious company. And now sits in a more glorious estate, then ever he did on earth.

It was his Destiny laid on him by God: and therefore, while we lament, as reflecting on his sad fate here, let us rejoyce in contemplation of his Glory in Heaven, among the blessed Saints and Angels. And now let us cast our eyes upon the Power now in being: and since God hath set it up, it is not in man to pull it down. Subjection to the power is commanded by the Apostle. And for my part, since God hath set up this power, and by it the Government, I shall Subscribe freely: resolving to be subject to the present Power, because it is of God.

Ob. Here again some take offence. Do you not see (say they) what a Confusion is crept in amongst us?

1. All things,
2. And almost all persons out of order;

Call you this a Reformation according to the Covenant?

R. I doe both see, and mourn. And it much dejects the hearts of many precious Saints, to see

1. The Churches almost empty, and the People running into Corners.

2. The Publike Worship neglected.

3. The Sacraments, that of the Supper, in particular, discontinued.

4. The Ministry discountenanced.

5. Zealous Professors derided.

G 3

6. Learning

6. Learning undervalued.

7. Christian Liberty set upon the Rack to usher in a world of Errors.

8. And Liberty of Conscience walking up and down: and running into manifold extravagances.

(v) Psal. 68. 1.

Exurgat Deus, Let God arise (v).

(w) Psal. 119.
126.

It is time for the Lord to work, for they have made void thy Law (w). But now, where shall we lay the blame? what? directly on the Power? I cannot but say that there hath been some failings in the Power: but other Emergent businesses have so taken them up, as of necessity they were forced to attend to other matters. But indeed the fault is principally in the people, who should have acted, in their places, according to the Ordinances of the Power. The fault may be principally in the people: and that in those two regards.

1. The first is the vanity and instability of the minds of the people, who fall into strange miscarriages, they being infected with the poison of ungrounded Tenets: which they uphold with a strong hand, and will not be controlled. And they take advantage and encouragement in this juncture of time, wherein the power is, and hath been in a manner wholly taken up with urgent, and emergent occurrences. Namely,

1: First, the securing of the New moulded Commonwealth, in this time of so many distractions, and distempers. Some being wholly for Monarchy, others for Anarchy: some for one thing, some for another.

2. Again, the reducing of Ireland, which is of great concernment to the security of the State. This meeteth with strong opposition: and therefore, cannot, but it must needs take up much time.

3. Lastly, to hold a Brotherly correspondence both with our fellow Covenanters of the Scottish Nation: and with other States, and Churches abroad. And what retarding, the New fallen difference between the Scots, and our selves, may occasion, I cannot foretell.

The second is, the want of obedience to former Ordinances

ees of the Power. For had the Prebyteriall Government set forth by Ordinances of the Power, found its wished entertainment: and with that ready compliance as was expected: a blessed effect for suppressing both Errors, and enormities had seconded those Ordinances long ere this.

Therefore if we search into the causes of these our confusions, and distempers, wee shall finde them to flow principally from these two Springs.

1. First the vanities of mens mindes: being neither zealous for, nor constant to the Truth.

2. Again, a lawlesse Liberty which many take to themselves, whereby they have rejected a Tendered Government. And this later is,

1. Partly from the ignorance of those that neither know, nor will own the excellency of a Presbytery. Both for restraining the extravagancies of the exorbitant: and for the encouragement of the godly party.

2. Partly from the dislike of those that are scandalous, who are, as we say, Tooth and Nail, against all means of restraint: which would have been ungent, and effectuell under that kind of Government.

3. And partly from the madnesse, and malice of those that are infected with Antinomian, Anabaptistickall, and other erroneous principles. These cry up I know not what kinde of Lawlesse Liberty, and are not willing to bee brought under any limitting, and restraining Government.

Put all these together, and ye have the true cause, And now to fly upon the face of the Power, this is a fallacy, that is, when that that is not the cause is put for the cause. And to speake plain English, It is a trick of the Devill to hold men the faster in their Ignorance, Errours, and Extravagancies.

And because there is so much grumbling at the present state of the Church, and Commonwealth, in respect of the Covenant, I shall therefore take Liberty, to take the Covenant in peeces, and to take a view of all the particulars in it. And so it will plainly appear, that while these men insist so much

much upon one clause in the Covenant, they neglect all the rest of it. The particular heads or branches of the Covenant are these six, as they follow now in order.

1. The first is Reformation of Religion in Worship, Discipline, and Government according to the Word of God: and the example of the best reformed Churches, &c.

But the most, and they that grumble most, cry down all Reformation, they extoll Prelacy: they would have their old Service, their old Ceremonies.

2. Secondly, the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, Superstition, Heresie, Schism, Prophanesne, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound Doctrine, and the Power of Godlinesse, &c.

But who almost regardeth sound Doctrine, and the power of godlinesse? I am sure that Schism, and Prophanesne abound more now, then in former times.

3. The third is, with Reality, Sincerity, and Constancy, with our Lives, and Estates mutually to preserve the Rights and Priviledges of Parliament: the Liberties of the Kingdom. And to preserve the Kings Majesty, Person, and Authority in the preservation, and defence of the true Religion, and the Liberties of the Kingdome, &c.

But the Rights, and Priviledges of Parliament are in no grace: for they that grumble most do condemne the Parliament, and condemne all Parliamentary proceedings. Their proceedings against the late King, filleth their hearts with madnesse, and their tongues with clamour.

4. Fourthly, with all faithfulnessse to endeavour the discovery of all such as have been, or shall be Incendiaries, Malignants, or evill Instruments, by hindering the Reformation of Religion: dividing the King from his people: or making any faction, or parties among the people, &c.

I appeal to all men, (I, for my part, have found it so) if many of those that cavill most, be not of the same hair: and if they would not be glad of any opportunity,

1. To make a faction,

2. Or

2. Or to manage a combustion.

5. Fifthly, to maintain the Peace concluded between the Kingdomes by both Parliaments: and for the bringing to Justice all wilfull opposers thereof, &c.

I shall need to say nothing of this: the tongues of the most doe sufficiently manifest how little that clause of the Covenant was regarded. But till that Kingdome doth break with us, we are bound to hold a Brotherly Correspondency with it: if that fall off (which God forbid) then are we free. I would our Brethren of *Scotland* were sensible, and with remorse, of some overtures of high concernment on their part, that though their provocations have bin great & even to the breach of the Covenant by them: yet they would give such timely satisfaction that the English may again embrace them in the armes of Brotherly fellowship: and not be forced to fly upon them, and to avenge the quarrell of the Covenant. I can but pray: and in that I shall not be awanting to them.

6. The last is, mutually to defend all that enter into this League, and Covenant, &c.

But for this of mutuall Defence, it is not to be expected from the most. Many will sooner side with a Royall Party, if occasion should be ministred, to cut the throat of the Round-Heads, as they are pleased to call them. *Cholchester* businesse is still in memory,

1. What plottings a little before?

2. What backwardnesse?

3. What expectation then?

4. What ill language since?

These shew that there was, and is much gall of bitterness in the hearts of many. And some lie hid in a cloud that did manifest a compliance then, and do wish wel to an Adverse Party still. And if Inquisition were made, I dare say that honest men in this Country could, and would say some something. But I forbear.

Thus the Covenant is, in a manner, wholly trodden under foot, by some that grumble most at the Confusions that are crept in amongst us. But to proceed,

Subjection.

I might urge Subscription by vertue of a Conquest gotten. But I will not enlarge my self upon that particular, for then my discourie would swell into too large a volume: for it would require a large Resolution of many Queries; yet for a tast I will give a brief touch upon some of the principall of them.

Q. 1. Is there a Conquest gotten? By whom I pray you?

A. By the State, it being made prosperous and victorious by Gods blessing upon it, and upon its undertakings.

Q. 2. Over whom is the Conquest gotten?

A. Over Regality, and over Regall Jurisdiction, and Prerogative.

Q. 3. By what means is the Conquest gotten?

A. By the means of lawfull Armes, and Hostility: the Lord making them successfull, and victorious.

Q. 4. Upon what grounds, were those which you call victorious, Armes raised for that purpose?

A. Upon the grounds both of unlawfull assaulting on the one part: and of lawfull defence on the other part.

Q. 5. To what ends were those Armes raised and maintained?

A. Security of Church and State: with the purity of Religion on the one part, and Liberties of the Free born people on the other.

Q. 6. For what benefits?

A. Freedom from slavery by Arbitrary, Tyrannicall, and Prerogative power.

Q. 7. For whom the Conquest is gotten?

A. For the whole Kingdom. Not for any one particular sort in the Kingdome: the benefit doth redound to all.

Q. 8. For how long time?

A. Till God shall be pleased to turn the wheel. For it is he that pulleth down and setteth up.

Q. 9. What is likely to follow hereupon?

A. Much good to Church and Commonwealth: to us and to our posterity, if we, by our sinnes doe not hinder it.

And this is sure, that it is in the power of Conquerours, and incident to Conquests to alter Lawes, Government, and what not?

Yet

Yet I doe not conceive that Subscription is urged upon that account : for the people are not a conquered people. The enemies only of the people are conquered. But the people, that is the Commons, in their Trustees, have a share in the Conquest gotten : and shall reap the benefit in themselves, and in their posterities, though for a time, they must bear the burthen of Taxes, to uphold what they have gotten by the sword. And the benefit in the end will countervail the large expence both of Treasure, and of blood.

Old men build, plant, and are at great charge for the benefit of succeeding Generations. Let not us therefore now grutch at the present charge, to bear up that, which will be abundantly advantagious to those that shall live to see the Halcion Dayes of perfect freedom, when wee are dead and rotten ; and let the Kingdome, at least those in the Kingdome whom it doth concern, remember their earnest, and reiterated Petitions for taking away Prelacy, and Monarchy, &c. and leave their murmuring at the State for matter of charge which was occasioned thereby.

But I will return to my purpose, namely Reformation. And it cannot be denyed but that we have tasted at least a smack of the sweetnesse of the beginnings of a Reformation : and that both in the Church, and in the Commonwealth.

1. First, in the Commonwealth by taking away some, if not Arbitrary, yet Tyrannicall, and Crushing Courts. As Starre Chamber, High Commission, Counsell Table, and the rest. And there is something in agitation for the ease and benefit of the Subject about the rest of the Courts at Westminster. To which, I, for my part, say God speed it.

2. Againe, in the Church, by abolishing the Lordlinessse of the Prelaticall Hierarchy. Chancellours, Commissaries and their appendants. Farewell they : thank God for it.

And who knoweth what the Lord intendeth more ? But it is now come to that passe, by means of Factions, and of Fracti-
 ons, that the Civill State must be first secured : which done, the hands of the Power will be strengthened to settle the Go-

vernment Ecclesiasticall with effect: and in such a way I hope, and pray, as shall be

1. To the Glory of God.
2. For the comfort of those that are truly conscientious.
3. And for the fame, and glory of the Church of England, in all reformed Churches abroad.

Ob. But some will say to me, How can that be? There is little likelihood of any such blessed Reformation as you dream of. And why so? Forsooth because,

1. The way of the Power seemeth to be contrary.
2. And all things are come to that exigent, and extremity, that confusions are like to grow more and more confused. The Lawlesse Liberty,

1. Given,
2. Overtaken, and connived at, doe threaten no lesse: what hope then can there be of Reformation?

A. Not so: Judge not the Power rashly. Judge nothing before the time (y). I conceive all this is but supposition, or private suggestion, rather then reall Truth.

I cannot but blesse God, and honour the Power for their late Acts against Incest, Adultery, Fornication, Bawdery, Swearing, Sabbath-breaking. And I hope in time, as other waighty affaires will permit, the Power will likewise provide for the suppression of all other Lawlesse Libertines.

God is still where he was. And he is not idle, but operative.

(z) Iohn 5.17. My Father worketh hitherto, and I work, saith Christ (z). And I desire to commend three things to the serious consideration of all those that make, and move these doubts.

1. First, that God is the Author of all good, both to the Church in generall, and to Christians in particular. Every good, and perfect gift is from above, saith James (a). Hee giveth us all things freely to enjoy, saith Paul (b); and what hast thou, that thou hast not received (c)?

2. Again, Gods way is a way peculiar to himself. His way is many times to bring his owne gracious Intendments to passe,

1. Not onely by ordinary, and by direct means.

2. But

2. But sometimes by unlikely, and even by contrary ways, and means, that himselfe may have the glory of the worke done.

Joseph was sold by his brethren (d), imprisoned by his Master (e): that hee might be a Foster-father, in time of need, both to his Father, and to his Fathers house. As for you, yee thought evill against me, but God meant it unto good, to bring to passe as it is this day, to save much people alive (f). Let us therefore wait upon God with patience: and seek him day and night with Fastings and Prayers: and suspending our censures, let us possesse our souls in patience (g). Wait on the Lord saith *David* (h). Again, Commit thy way to the Lord, trust also in him, and he shall bring it to passe (i).

O that Fastings, and Thanksgivings were in more grace. But things forbidden we follow with eagernesse. Things commanded we decline with sullenesse.

3. Thirdly, and lastly, as God is the Author of all good; And as his way is the best way to effect the same: So Gods time is the best for

1 The beginning,

2 Prosecuting,

3 Perfecting and finishing of every thing.

And who knoweth what the Lord will have done before we shall reap the harvest of a through Reformation? It may be,

1 He will put us more out of joint, before he setteth us right.

2. He will bring us much lower, before he will advance us.

Let us wait Gods time. Waiting I waited, saith the Psalmist,

(k) Wait on the Lord, and be of good courage (l) q.d. Faint not, Doubt not, Distrust not, but comfort and encourage thine own soul, and say with *David*, Why art thou cast downe? O my soul, why art thou disquieted within mee? Hope thou in God, for I will yet praise him, who is the health of my countenance, and my God (m).

And in the mean time let us importune, and even wrestle and strive with the Lord by fervent prayers, for this distracted Church, as *Epaphus* did for the Church of the *Colossians* (n).

And

(d) Gen. 37. 20.

(e) Gen. 39. 27.

(f) Gen. 50. 20.

(g) Luk. 21. 19.

(h) Psal. 37. 34.

(i) Psal. 37. 5.

(k) Psal. 40. 1.

(l) Psal. 27. 14.

(m) Psal. 42.

11. 43. 5.

(n) Col. 4. 12.

And, in the mean time, let us not neglect, nor slight our duty to the Power: assuring our selves that he, in the wisdom of his Providence, will order all things for the best to them that wait on him with confident, and contented minds. For hee hath said, I will not leave thee, nor forsake thee (o). And all things work together for good to them that love God, to them that are the called according to his purpose (p).

The Lord hath many precious Saints, who doe daily, and hourly powre out many zealous prayers and supplications for the Publike good. And shall we think these supplications, from such precious ones; shall fall to the ground? that they shall be fruitlesse? No verily, not one of them shall bee lost. The Lord putteth them in his bottle (q). The Lord (saith the Psalmist) is nigh to all that call upon him, to all that call upon him in truth. He will fulfill the desires of them that fear him, he also will hear their cry, and will save them (r).

The Lord (I say) will fulfill the desires of his good people,

1. Either by the present Powers,
2. Or if they shall neglect (which God forbid) he will bring it about some other way. He will stir up some others to bee instrumentall in that great work, as Mordecai said to Hester

(s).

Let us therefore lift up our eyes to the Hills, from whence cometh our help (t). Let us lift up our hearts to Heaven where our Rock is, even the Rock of our Salvation (u). Confidently assuring our selves, that he that hath begun, will goe through with the worke, to the joy and content of his hidden

Ones (w).

1. He will put Wisdome into the heads, Courage into the hearts, Power into the hands of our Governours: and will make them effectually Instrumentall in this great work.

2. He will infatuate all the *Abisophells*: and turn all their counsels into foolishnesse, that Contrive, Complot, Combine against this blessed work.

3. He will in his good time, manifest to the world, that his Church, his Servants, his Service is precious to himself.

Say we therefore, with the Psalmists Spirit, the words of the
Sweet

Sweet Singer of Israel. This God is our God for ever and ever: and he will be our guide unto death (x). Finally,

(x) Psal. 48. 14.

1. Be the Rise of the Power what it will,
 1. Whether by Lineall Succession,
 2. Or by Generall Election :
 3. Nay if by violent intrusion : yet if it get the full possession, it is of God. God setteth it up for his own ends.
2. Rule the Power how it will,
 1. Either Rigidly,
 2. Or Righteously : yet being in full possession, we must be subject, (either by doing or by suffering) for Conscience sake.

The Lord Bless, Prosper, and Protect our present Governours.

The Lord guide them by his Spirit, that they following the mind of God, the Lord may be pleased both to bee with them in their consultations : and to prosper them in their Designs.

The Lord bless them unto us : that under them wee may lead a quiet, and a peaceable life in all godlinesse, and honesty.

And the Lord bless us unto them, inclining all our hearts to render unto them that which is their due, namely, Subjection in all Lawfull, Honest, and possible things.

Amen, and Amen.

A Postscript to the Reader.

Reader, whosoever thou be, doe not judge me rashly,

1. Neither for my Pains in composing,
2. Nor for my good will in publishing this Treatise of Subjection, at this time.

My intents are known to God, to whom I must be accountable. For he tryeth the heart, and the reins (y).

(y) Psal. 7. 9.

But for what I have written I am to be accountable to men. Be ready, saith the Apostle, alwayes to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you (z). And I hope no man can justly (e) 1 Pet. 3. 15. condemn me of any untruth in the matter delivered.

Give me leave to say; that,

1, Here-

1. Heretofore, when Pretaticall Preferments were as golden Baits to aspiring Spirits every one cryed up Subjection upon all occasions. And the boundlesse Liberty of Prerogative Illegalities was extolled to the skies: and sometimes, in little lesse then in an affronting way to Parliaments.

2. But now those Golden baits are taken away, and who speaketh for Subjection? I therefore, though the weakest of many thousands, have adventured to publish this necessary Tractate.

1. Not gaping after Dignity,

2. But out of conscience of Duty. For Paul bad Titus to put them in mind to be subject to Principalities, and Powers, and to obey Magistrates, Tit. 3. 1. Paul (as I conceive) gave it in charge as a part of the Ministeriall office then. And I cannot say but the same charge now lyeth upon the Ministry, both to inform the people, and to presse upon them the performance of so necessary a Duty. Dixi.

FINIS.
